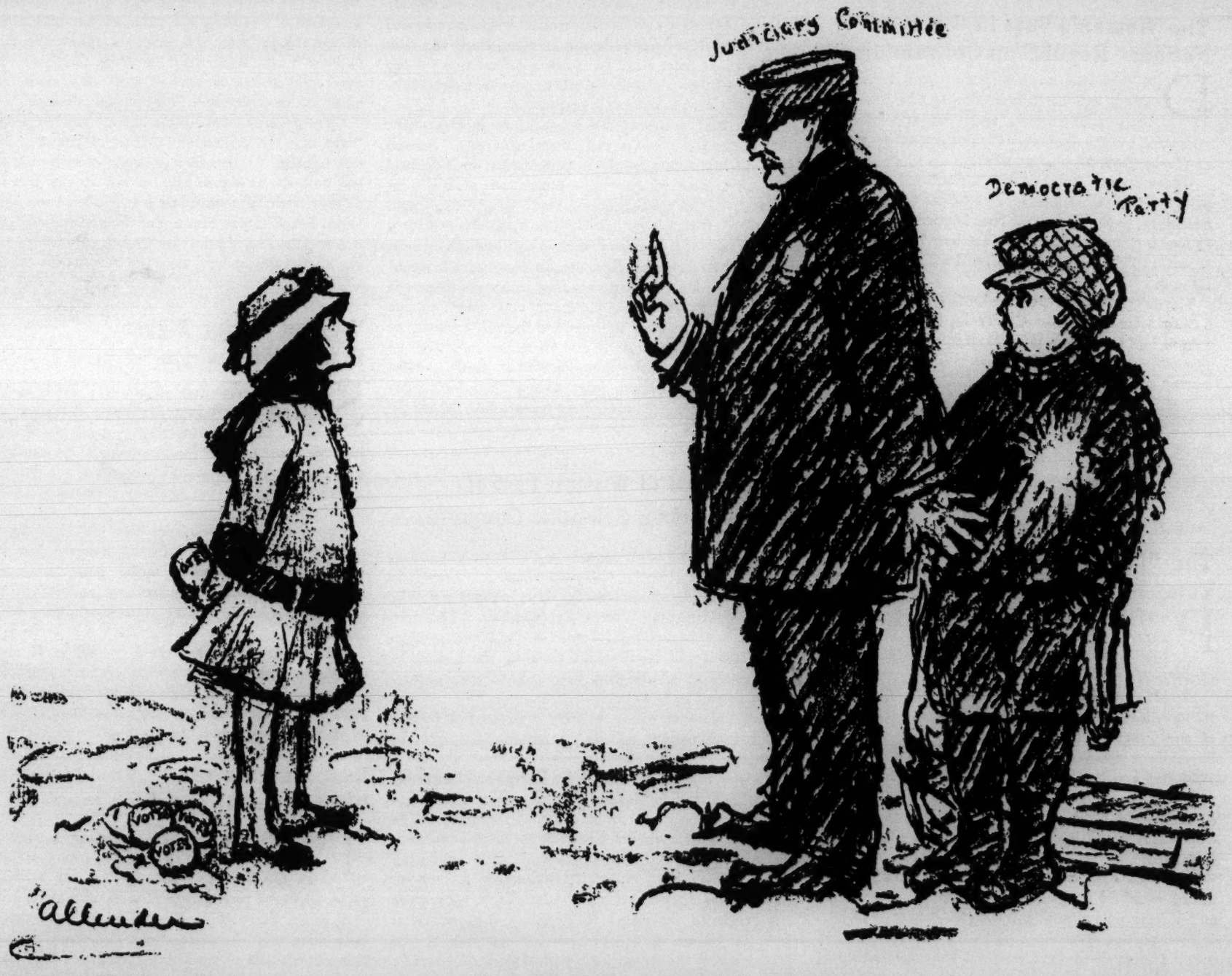
FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

DECEMBER 25, 1915



Drawn by Nina E. Allender

December 16, 1915

Judiciary Committee: "Wha' jer goin' to do next?"

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Vol. III DECEMBER 25, 1915 No. 52

The Suffragist

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

1420 F Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

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Chairman Circulation Department, MRS. W. T. BURCH

Subscription Price:

Domestic.....$1.00

Foreign.....$1.50

Single Copies.....5 *cents*

Checks, drafts and postoffice orders should be made payable to The Treasurer of the Congressional Union

National Capital Press, Inc., Washington, D. C.

Entered as second-class matter, Nov. 14, 1913, at the Postoffice at Washington, D. C., under act of March 3, 1879

Notes of the Week

The Woman's Vote in the National Republican Convention

DELEGATES to the Republican Convention which will be held in Chicago in June, have been apportioned, and the apportionment approved by the National Committee at its meeting in Washington, D. C., last week.

Under the new apportionment, the State of Alabama loses 8 delegates; Arkansas, 3; Florida, 4; Georgia, 11; Louisiana, 8; Mississippi, 8; New Mexico, 2; New York, 3; North Carolina, 3; South Carolina, 7; Tennessee, 3; Texas, 14; Virginia, 9; Hawaii, 6; Philippines, 2; Porto Rico, 2.

The delegates from the equal suffrage states number, 6 from Arizona, 26 from California, 12 from Colorado, 8 from Idaho, 58 from Illinois, 20 from Kansas, 6 from Nevada, 10 from Oregon, 8 from Utah, 14 from Washington, and 6 from Wyoming,—making a total of 174.

While the equal suffrage states have not gained in representation since 1912, they have proportionately gained in relation to the total number, owing to the decrease in the representation of other states. This points to a growing power, among the representatives of the states where women vote, over the choice of candidates for the presidency.

The "Independent Vote" For Suffrage

POLITICIANS are busy speculating over the amount of the Progressive vote of 1912 which they think will be added in 1916 to the strength of the other two parties.

In 1912 Wilson was elected by 6,293,019 votes; Roosevelt received 4,119,507; Taft, 3,484,956. Some of the Progressive states of 1912 which voted the Republican ticket in 1914 are Pennsylvania, which in 1912 cast a vote of 447,426 for Roosevelt; New York, which gave Roosevelt 390,021 votes; Illinois, with 386,478 votes for Roosevelt; California with 283,610; Ohio, 229,327; Michigan 214,584; Indiana, 162,007; Iowa, 161,819; New Jersey, 145,410.

The total Roosevelt vote in the nine states mentioned equals 2,420,682 and represents an uncertain and independent quantity in the elections of 1916.

Both parties need the Progressive vote; the Democrats, who even in 1912 received only a minority of the total number of votes cast, need it particularly. They can receive it only by establishing a progressive record. National woman suffrage was one of the main planks in the Progressive platform.

Social Welfare Legislation Before Congress

A LARGE program of social welfare bills, including many which were rejected by the last Congress, are to be urged again at this session.

One of the first of these will be the national child labor bill which was given a large complimentary vote in the House, but was defeated in the Senate last year.

A prison labor bill which passed the House, but was not allowed to come to a vote in the Senate, will be pressed by the national committee on prisons and prison labor.

The bill providing adequate compensation to all civilian employes of the government for occupational diseases as well as injuries will be introduced again, drawn on the same lines as the Kern-McGillicuddy bill last year. The American Association for Labor Legislation plans to make a special campaign on its behalf.

Effort will again be made to secure the adoption of a vocational education bill.

Federal regulation of employment agencies will be proposed again, to do away with interstate abuses, particularly in the case of immigrant workers sent by employment agencies to work in other states.

Health measures before the next congress will include the bill to create a division of mental hygiene and rural sanitation in the public health service, which was considered last year; a bill to create a commission for the study of tuberculosis and a bill to provide federal subsidies for local tuberculosis hospitals.

Industrial measures are expected to include those before the last congress and several new ones. Among the recommendations of the commission on industrial relations, those which will be pushed are probably indicated in the announcement made by the chairman, Frank P. Walsh, who laid emphasis on the need for a federal law or, if necessary, a constitutional amendment limiting the power of the courts to declare laws unconstitutional; for an act prohibiting interstate shipment of armed guards, machine guns and other similar weapons, except when consigned to the military authorities of the state or nation, and for an act requiring the federal trade commission to consider as unfair competition the exploitation of labor through long hours, low wages and unsafe or unsanitary conditions.

Conference of Women Part of Pan-American Scientific Congress

AN IMPORTANT feature of the second Pan-American Scientific Congress which is to be held in Washington December 27 to January 6 will be the Inter-American Woman's Conference. This conference is to be an official section of the Scientific Congress, and it will be the first time in the history of Pan-American affairs that women have ever participated in any such way.

The conference will be entirely conducted by women and the discussions will be of matters of interest to them.

Papers will be presented in English and Spanish and there will be interpreters present to translate the discussions from one language to the other. The program for the conference has not yet been completed, but acceptances of invitations to read papers have been received from Miss Mabel T. Boardman, Miss Zona Gale, the authoress; Miss Hazel MacKaye, who wrote and produced the Susan B. Anthony Pageant; Mrs. William Cumming Story, president general of the Daughters of the American Revolution; Mrs. Louis F. Post, formerly associate editor of the *Public* and a leading authority on economic questions; Miss Julia Lathrop, director of the Children's Bureau; Mrs. Florence Kelley, Mrs. Percy V. Pennypacker, and others.

Women to Move to Equal Suffrage States

ACCORDING to a statement in a New York paper of this week, Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch has announced that she intends to move her legal residence from New York State to Kansas so that she may exercise the political liberty enjoyed by the women of that state. It is believed that Mrs. Blatch's statement will inaugurate a movement of no uncertain size among the disfranchised women of the East.

Such a movement might materially affect the tax receipts of the eastern states, since taxes on personal property are paid where the legal residence is established.

Decision in Leslie Will Case Not Yet Rendered

THE DECISION in the case of the suit over the will of the late Mrs. Frank Leslie has been reserved by Surrogate Fowler in the New York courts.

The will, in which about $1,600,000 was bequeathed to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt to be used toward furthering the cause of woman suffrage, was attacked by a nephew of Frank Leslie. He declares that Mrs. Leslie was the daughter of a slave, and that under the laws of New York, being an illegitimate child, she has no legal heirs at law or next of kin. This claim creates what the executors call "an unusual situation."

"The general nature of the claim," say the executors, "was that the descendant was an illegitimate child of one Charles Follin and a colored slave, and that she left no heirs at law or next of kin on the part of her mother; that her estate had come to her from her husband, Frank Leslie, and under the statutes of distribution and descent of this state the heirs at law and next of kin of the descendant were the heirs at law and next of kin of Frank Leslie, the husband."

Women Taking Bigger Place in Industries

SO MANY hundreds of women machinists and mechanics have been developed in Cleveland and other American industrial centers since the European war boomed business and cut off immigration that the American woman's invasion of the mechanical trades threatens to vie with the invasion of the same field by women in Europe.

Thousands of women have been employed for years on light mechanical tasks in this country, but skilled women mechanics manipulating giant steel lathes, punches, drills, trimming presses and other heavy machinery is believed to be an industrial innovation in America.

Such is the belief expressed by Edgar E. Adams, superintendent of a Cleveland hardware manufacturing company, one of the largest of its kind in America. He declares that women mechanics have established themselves permanently in factories.

Last Number of "Britannia" Typewritten

THOUGH the offices of *Britannia*, the organ of Mrs. Pankhurst's association, were raided by the London police and the presses seized, the paper appeared promptly next week in a novel form.

A single sheet of foolscap, closely typewritten on both sides, took the place of the customary issue. No mention is made of the police raid which deprived the publishers of their printing press, which they had concealed in a garage. The attack on the management of the war by the coalition government is continued in the typewritten issue of the paper.

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Senate Hearing of the Congressional Union

THE keynote of the hearing before the Woman Suffrage Committee of the Senate was the political urgency of national woman suffrage in the Sixty-fourth Congress.

The hearing was held in the Caucus Room of the Senate Office Building, on December 16. Speakers appeared from every section of the country, to bring to the attention of the committee not only the justice, but the political urgency of a favorable report by the Senate Committee, and of the submission of the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the state legislatures by this Congress.

Senator Thomas of Colorado, Chairman of the Committee, was prevented by a long-standing engagement from being present at the beginning of the hearing. Through his courtesy Senator Sutherland of Utah (who introduced the Susan B. Anthony amendment at this session as Senate Joint Resolution No. 1), although a member of the minority party, was acting Chairman. Other members of the committee present were Senators Ransdell, Hollis, Jones, Clapp and Catron, Senator Thomas appearing before the close of the hearing. Miss Anne Martin of Nevada presided for the Congressional Union and introduced the speakers, who were Mrs. William Spencer Murray, secretary of the Women's Political Union of Connecticut, Mrs. Annie Porritt, press chairman of the Woman Suffrage Association of Connecticut, Mrs. Dana Durand of Minnesota, Mrs. Roach of Louisiana, Mrs. Agnes Jenks, president of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association, Mrs. Glendower Evans, member of the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission, Mrs. R. H. Ashbaugh, president of the Michigan Federation of Women's Clubs, Mrs. James Rector, vice-chairman of the Congressional Union of Ohio, Mrs. Cyrus Mead, chairman of the Congressional Union of Ohio, and the two envoys of the Woman Voters' Convention, Miss Frances Jolliffe of California, and Mrs. Sara Bard Field of Oregon.

Mrs. Porritt discussed the political situation and asked for a favorable report to the United States Senate by the Committee, as a vital step toward the passage of the amendment "in order that the Sixty-fourth Congress may free us from this agitation and this work here at Washington, so that we may go back to our states and show them that it is the duty of the states to ratify national suffrage for women." Her position was emphasized by the following speakers. Referring to the Woman Voters' Convention in San Francisco, Miss Jolliffe said: "The historical fact is that there for the first time in the history of the world was the evidence of the solidarity of women, when the enfranchisement of women was made the paramount issue, above party or partisanship. . . . I do not think we have to ask for your favorable action. I know we are going to get it." (Applause.)

The hearing was marked by earnest attention on the part of members of the Committee, broken occasionally by a Senator asking for further information on some point of interest raised by the speakers. It was apparent that the Committee was impressed with the earnestness of the representatives of the Congressional Union, who, coming from every section of the country, illustrated in themselves the solidarity of women for the Susan B. Anthony Amendment and for its submission by the Sixty-fourth Congress.

Difficulties of a State Campaign in New Jersey

By Julia S. Hurlbut

IT WAS a very difficult thing to get a state suffrage amendment submitted to the people of New Jersey. It took us three years going to Trenton to get the bill through to bring the question before the people. It would be no more difficult to get our legislators at Trenton to ratify a federal constitutional amendment than it was to get them to submit a state constitutional amendment.

The first year we did that in New Jersey, after a great deal of work in seeing our Assemblymen, lobbying and sending delegations down to Trenton, and after the bill had passed through both houses in Trenton, it was in some way lost, owing, as we were told, to the neglect of a member of the clerical force of the legislature; and we had to start all over again. In order to have the matter submitted to the people of the state of New Jersey, it is necessary that the bill shall be passed through two sessions of the legislature. So we had this work to do three times instead of twice. In the second year it was not very difficult, because the men were more favorable to it, and more willing to allow it to be submitted to the people.

But the third year when we went to Trenton, we had to lobby a great deal and bring a great deal of influence to bear upon the men in Trenton, in order to make them see there was a great sentiment all over the state for the measure. We could do that, because there was this sentiment all over the state; but it meant bringing delegations of women to Trenton from every district. We had to go to Trenton constantly; and we went down there all winter long.

It is because of these facts that we feel it would be no more difficult to pass this amendment through the legislature, and secure the ratification of a federal amendment than it was to get the state amendment submitted by the legislature.

In the case of New Jersey it was a very expensive proposition, and always will be, because we have to have a special election, and that means an added expense for the taxpayers of the state. That will be the case whenever the question is put before the voters of New Jersey, because of a provision in our law.

Then the question of converting the entire male electorate was a very difficult one, because it was difficult to know who was going to vote. We would find, for instance, that there were some men who would come to our meetings and they would say that they were very much interested, and wished they could vote, because they would vote for us, but that they had only lived in the state a short time, not long enough to permit them to vote; and so after we had expended all our eloquence we found that it was wasted.

Then again, a large number of the male population in the state were Germans and Hungarians. We had to talk to those people in their own language. It was a very difficult thing, and one could never tell how many of the foreigners had a vote.

In the city of Paterson we had, for instance, an enormous street meeting, at which there were five or six hundred people who all were very much interested. They had come from a certain mill, and we knew that in that town there were only thirty registered voters from that mill, and in order to reach them we had to talk to five or six hundred men in that street meeting. It was a great waste of time and energy to talk to all those men, of whom such a very small number were registered voters.

Then we had to have our literature in seven different languages, because there were that number of different nationalities in our state to whom we had to appeal.

When we consider the total amount of energy and time spent in our enterprise, I am sure that energy and time could have been spent in some other way very much more effectively. It took the energy and time of the women of that community a whole year, and then when we had done all that work we were not sure that the men whom we had addressed, or whom we had reached, were the ones who were going to vote.

Then we went to the farmers. They said they were interested, but we could not tell whether they would be able to vote on that day. Of course, this was a special election, and there was another election, the regular election; and it was very difficult to get the farmers to spend practically a whole day to go to the polls, to vote at this special election. But these same men, these farmers, would have been very glad to tell their assemblymen that they would like to have them vote for the ratification of the federal amendment in the state legislature of New Jersey.

So we are looking to the Sixty-fourth Congress to pass this resolution submiting this federal amendment to the state legislature, and we hope it will be passed as soon as possible.

Demand for Suffrage in Minnesota

By Jane Bliss Potter

I HAVE been asked to say a few words in regard to the demand for the federal suffrage amendment in my own state.

The State of Minnesota has one of the largest foreign populations of any state in the Union. Its population is mostly Scandinavian; and as you know, in the Scandinavian countries the women have suffrage. In the great procession we had in the city of Minneapolis in behalf of this amendment, one of the largest and most interesting sections was that of the Scandinavian women, who, dressed in their native costumes, carried the flags of Norway, Sweden and Denmark; and in our great mass meeting which followed the procession where the resolution was unanimously passed by the great crowd of women, these Scandinavian women were at the back of the stage, with the flags of the several countries above them; and they carried banners calling attention to the fact that they had enjoyed the franchise in their native countries, and had lost it in coming to the so-called land of the free.

You all know about our Scandinavian statesmen from Minnesota, men like Senator Nelson, and former Governor Johnson, both good suffragists.

All the way down from men like these to the farmers and mechanics and common laborers, the Scandinavian men look upon woman suffrage as something natural. As I have heard the women of the East tell about their great labors in trying to get the vote, I thought the women of Minnesota never could do that, and we would never need to do it, because the men of Minnesota are natural suffragists.

Moreover, the suffrage sentiment in Minnesota is all focused upon the federal amendment. For one reason, the foreign-born population is accustomed to think in terms of a nation, and they know nothing about states' rights.

For another reason, the provision in regard to the amending of the state constitution is practically prohibitive. We have to get not merely a majority of the votes cast on the amendment, but a majority of all the votes cast at the election; and this makes it practically impossible to carry an amendment if there is any opposition. Only one amendment has been carried in Minnesota in a long series of years, and that was an amendment at the last election. It was supported by every newspaper in the State, and yet it barely carried. So our only hope of getting suffrage in Minnesota is through a federal amendment, and the suffragists of Minnesota are lined up solidly for the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

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The Susan B. Anthony Amendment

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE.—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

Into Congress, January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the U. S. Senate.

Reported from Committee,

In the Senate,

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.

In the House,

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate,

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for, and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House,

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204 failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Democratic Opportunity

THE Democratic Party has a golden opportunity, a correspondent writes, to win strength and glory by favorable action on national woman suffrage.

In 1896 the Republican Party incorporated in its national platform the following statement:

"The Republican Party is mindful of the rights and interests of women. Protection of American industries includes equal opportunities, equal pay for equal work, and protection to the home. We favor the admission of women to wider spheres of usefulness, and welcome their cooperation in rescuing the country from Democratic and Populistic mismanagement and misrule."

In 1896 there were only four suffrage states—Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho—with about two hundred thousand women voters in all. Apparently no general appeal was made by women to the Republican Party to declare itself in any such fashion. If the party, therefore, decided on its own initiative to adopt such a plank in order to secure the cooperation of women, it will surely see that the time has come to incorporate in its former statement an endorsement of the federal suffrage amendment. Twelve suffrage states, containing nearly four million women voters, will demand it now.

The Republican Party has already adopted for 1916 the slogan of "protection for American industries"—which includes, in its own words, "protection of the home, equal pay for equal work, and equal opportunities." The next step in the direction of "equal opportunities" for women is the federal suffrage amendment.

The Republicans are not only accepting, but hastening the return of the Progressives to the fold. They must ratify the unqualified endorsement of national woman suffrage by the Progressives in 1912.

In view of this situation, it will be the part of wisdom for the Democrats, who, like all parties, need all the strength they can get, to pass the suffrage amendment through Congress this session. They can then appeal for the support of enfranchised women in the coming campaign by the claim to priority of action. That will be a powerful appeal to some four million women.

The "Hearing" Before the Judiciary Committee

THE hearing before the Judiciary Committee was really an interesting affair. Suffragists who since 1870 and earlier have gone before Senate and House committees are accustomed to inattention. Some of the gentlemen on the committees have nearly gone to sleep in the course of a suffrage hearing, however thoughtful and eloquent, and the general bearing of politicians asked to take action on woman suffrage was one of polite but imperturbable indifference.

"They don't fall asleep now," said a member of the audience last Thursday after the hearing on woman suffrage before the Judiciary Committee.

So eager were the members of the committee to ask questions that they would not give the representatives of the Congressional Union time to answer them; but interrupted one another in their desire to learn how much voting strength the Congressional Union had behind it, what it had done in 1914 with this voting strength, and why; and, most important of all, what it was going to do with it, in case Congress refused to pass the amendment—in case it agreed to pass it—in case the Judiciary Committee reported it and the House took no action on it.

"What we shall do depends upon what you do," said Miss Paul, who acted as chairman of the Congressional Union speakers; and to this Chairman Webb replied, with unusual and instructive frankness, "We should know better what to do if we knew what you were going to do."

Suffragists throughout the country will draw fresh courage from this hearing, which shows an amazing advance in the strategic position of the suffrage movement since so recent a date as March 3, 1914, when the Judiciary Committee last heard arguments in favor of national woman suffrage.

These men know now that political consequences are going to follow from the action they take on the woman suffrage amendment; and they are busy calculating what the consequences will be and how they may extract the greatest advantage for their party from their dealings with the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

It is our duty in the meantime to give the men who hold responsible posts in Congress the fullest opportunity to examine our case so that they may realize that suffrage is a winning and not a losing cause, and that the wisest thing they can do with the amendment is to pass it through Congress and leave its final disposition with the state legislatures, whose business it is to say whether the national constitution shall be amended in this direction or not.

Stupid Sex Qualification

"I WAS converted anew to equal suffrage," writes Mr. Frederick C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration in New York City, "by the pageant of Hazel MacKaye and the dinner and meetings of the Congressional Union. I felt for the first time the fervor of the movement, the hunger of women to be unshackled and freed for life and opportunity; and the waste of power for social and economic justice which the stupid sex qualification now imposes upon all of us. Not on women alone, but on men as well. It is possibly the greatest of all wastes. I hope to see the dyke break, and break quickly, in the interest of women and of society as well."

Hearing before the House Judiciary Committee

HIGH on its raised dais sits the Judiciary Committee. Democratic members are out over their desks on eager elbows. Republicans sit back with suspicious calm, their eyes on their colleagues.

Below and before the gentlemen of the committee stands Alice Paul, as chairman of the group of women voters come to explain what the women of the West mean to do to help the eastern women to an equal freedom. Behind them is a crowded room silent with the sense of momentous happenings, or explosive with appreciation.

If ever the drama of suffrage is written it is safe to say that such will be the setting of one crucial scene—the scene in which the woman's party takes its place among the political parties of the nation. For the Congressional Union at its "hearing," or as

Miss Frances Jolliffe

one Republican called it, its "interruption" before the Judiciary Committee on January 16, was not listened to as a group of propagandists bringing a plea, it was heckled as a political antagonist by one party, by the other was aided and abetted as a means of giving discomfort to the enemy, while accusations of "cheap politics" and "unfair and improper treatment" were made by some members of the committee against the others.

It was the first time that Mr. Taggart, of Kansas, had an opportunity to tell the Union exactly what he thought about its campaign against him in 1914, and he was pretty fairly determined, with the assistance and sympathy of his Democratic colleagues, to make it a Taggart hearing. Only occasionally was a Republican voice raised against him.

"Don't you know," demanded Mr. Taggart in tones of considerable irritation, "that after your campaign the Democratic party was stronger than ever in Congress? Don't you know"—and there was a certain violence in his manner, "that in your ungrateful campaign against your friends, you hurt yourself and helped us?"

Mr. Volstead (Republican): "If the ladies are helping you, why don't you let them alone?"

Mr. Taggart: "What can two women from the oyster city come out and teach the women of Kansas?"

And one of those two women from the oyster city sat in the audience, remembering that among other things she had taught the women of Kansas to reduce Mr. Taggart's plurality from 3,000 to 800.

But these were only indicative details. Each succeeding moment of the "interruption" proved more conclusively that the appeal of the Union in 1914 to the women voters of the West not to keep in power a party that had blocked the way of other women toward freedom had been effective.

Every question asked showed that that prick in the West side of the Democratic party still rankled as a reminder, still gave the body politic alarm. The hearing was a chance for revenge, and they planned to take it through the old political tool, the heckle; but in their eagerness to get at their opponents they forgot that their eagerness to get at them was the only proof their opponents needed of success.

To have the women's vote for women recognized as a political factor in the coming presidential election, that has been the aim of the Congressional Union; and behind every question, every reprimand, every sneer, every interruption of the judiciary hearing lay that blessed recognition.

"Well, what will you do if this Congress does pass the amendment?"

"Suppose we do not pass it, what then?"

"Do you know that the Democrats have not the power to do it alone?"

"Have the Republicans made you an offer for the next campaign?"

'How are you going to spend your $50,000?"

Question after question as significant as these was hurled.

No more campaigning among western women would be necessary could that judiciary hearing have been heard and observed by all of them.

Never was there a hearing like it. Heretofore the rights of women have been propounded before committees drowsing in their places. At this one votes were the theme, and not a head nodded.

As the afternoon progressed, so did the mutual understanding. Is it to be wondered at that politicians were puzzled at first by this new development in the suffrage question, that after years upon years of pleas politely phrased, they doubted their senses and lost their tempers when they found themselves face to face with a protest couched in words of political power? All other mysteries of woman faded before this last one, that she should stop asking her "friends" to give, and attempt, herself, to get. In the most modern of her activities, politics, the old-fashioned woman has persisted longest. No one now looks for the appealing creature of the '80's in the drawing room, or for the helpless amateur needing a lift over fences in the field of sports; but in the political arena there is evidently a certain shock in finding us able to take care of ourselves. Once this change is understood, when our pleasure at being recognized as capable of becoming political friends or opponents is comprehended, all will go amicably and well. We have put woman before parties, the next move belongs to the parties—one or the other.

ON the day of the hearing, before the storm broke and the noon recess was called, there were many entirely peaceful speeches. The National Association had been heard for two hours; and Mrs. Andreas Ueland, of Minnesota; Mrs. Jennie C. Law Hardy, of Michigan, formerly a voter in Australia; Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, of Delaware, and Miss Mabel Vernon, who is a qualified voter in Nevada, were introduced by Miss Paul to represent the Union.

Mrs. Ueland spoke briefly and effectively of the difficulty of getting an amendment to the state constitution.

"In Minnesota," Mrs. Ueland said, "the constitution is so worded that it is almost impossible to pass any amendment. It is practically prohibitive of any amendment that has any opposition. We have to have in Minnesota a majority of the largest number of votes cast. Last year there were eleven amendments submitted to the people; only one of the eleven passed and that was an amendment for which there was no opposition. We ask you to help us in Minnesota."

Miss Mabel Vernon was then introduced and spoke particularly well in support of a federal amendment.

Mrs. Jennie C. Law Hardy made an excellent

Miss Helen Todd

speech beginning as follows: "I speak from the standpoint of the woman proud of her citizenship, who has voted in her native country and has lost her freedom in coming to the land of the free. There is one thing that has struck me more than any other in coming to the United States, and that is that the United States is the only country in the world which asks women to go to the individual voter for enfranchisement. Everywhere else the supreme legislative body grants it."

Mrs. Florence Bayard Hillies spoke eloquently of suffrage and genuine democracy.

Miss Paul rose to introduce the next speaker and Mr. Taggart saw his opportunity. He leaned back to take up the siege in comfort.

Mr. Taggart to Miss Paul: Are you here to report progress in your effort to defeat Democratic candidates?

Miss Paul: We are here to talk about this present Congress—this present situation. We are here to ask this Judiciary Committee to report this bill to the House.

Mr. Taggart: I take this occasion to say as a member of this committee that if there was any partisan organization made up of men who had attempted to defeat members of this committee, I do

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not think we would have given them a hearing. And if they had been men, they wouldn't have asked it.

Miss Paul: But you hear members of the Republican Party and of the Prohibition Party.

Mr. Webb: They aren't partisan. (Laughter.)

Mr. Taggart, coming back to the attack: You didn't defeat a single Democratic Member of Congress in a suffrage state.

Miss Paul, quickly: Why, then, are you so stirred up over our campaign? (Audible murmur from Republican left wing.)

Mr. Webb: I move a recess of this committee for one hour.

During the recess some few Congressional Unionists wondered if all the members of the committee would come back. They all came. And there was a certain anticipation in their expressions as they filed in.

HEARING RECONVENED AT 2 P. M.

MISS PAUL, with an expression of determination to accomplish what she set out to, rose to introduce Miss Helen Todd, of California.

Mr. Williams hitches his chair to attract attention and demands the privilege of a question.

"Miss Paul, would you state to me the names of the candidates for Congress which your organization opposed in the State of Illinois?"

Miss Paul: We conducted our campaign only in the nine states in which women were able to vote for members of Congress. In no way did we participate in the campaign in Illinois.

Miss Paul, by letting her voice fall for a period after the above, succeeds in introducing Miss Todd.

Miss Todd, in full hope that she now has the floor for a few successive moments, begins in a deliberate way: "I am here to talk a few moments to represent the point of view of women in the West. We have had a comparatively easy time in securing suffrage in the West. Out there they cannot understand a civilized people cheerfully allowing their people to beat up against a machine such as exists in our eastern states."

And then it began. Judge Graham was the first to see the chance to break in; but even while he spoke came murmurs and the beginning of queries that wished the right of way. This way and that turned Miss Todd, to the gentlemen of the committee, to her audience, to Miss Paul. Her ignorance on details of organization work she admitted freely. "I'm just here to do what I can with my vote," she declared practically; but in the midst of the torrent of quizzing she got out the fundamental facts of the Congressional Union policy.

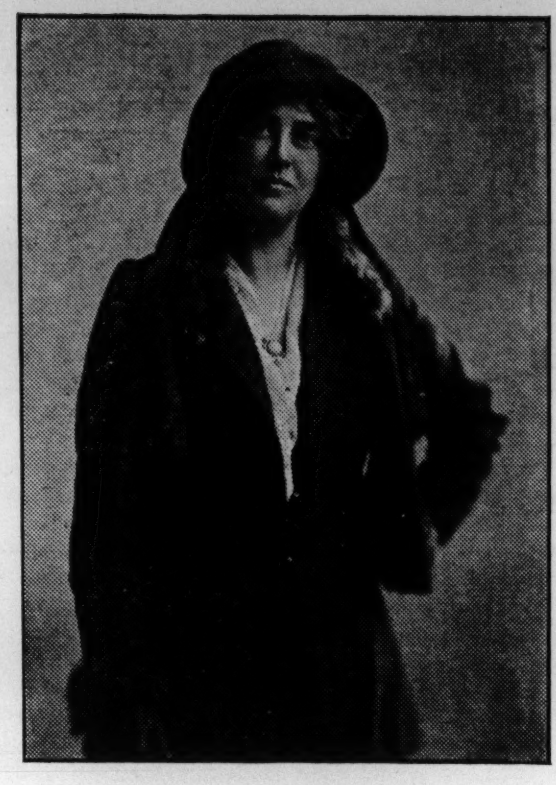
"We have felt that the best contribution that the West can make to the East is to put the cause of women above all political parties. We are very devoted to our political parties. It is a great sacrifice. It is a sacrifice of friends, it is a risk of misunderstanding. The members of our association mean to hold the party responsible—not the Democratic Party or the Republican Party alone—but the majority party, for we know that that party has the power in your caucus, has the power in your committees to control this federal legislation." Miss Todd moves to sit down, but is called to her feet.

Mr. Williams, of Illinois: I infer that you will give the Democrats credit if this resolution is adopted and the proposition goes to the states. I also infer that if it does not you will attach the whole blame to the Democratic Party. You realize, do you, that the Democrats, unfortunately, have not a two-thirds majority?

Miss Todd: The thing that has brought us very new women into this is the appeal that was sent out to the representatives from all the suffrage states meeting in convention at San Francisco last September. We have come into this with the determination to throw our weight to that party that stands for justice to women.

Mr. Moss, of West Virginia: Did not President Wilson say that he did not favor this national movement?

Miss Todd: That is the wonderful part of it. I have been to see President Wilson seven times, and each time he told why he could do nothing. He talked about states' rights and the party platform. And then when we came with the women voters he said nothing about states' rights or the party platform. He said that this was most interesting and that he would take it up seriously with his colleagues. We feel very hopeful of you Democrats in 1916.



Mrs. Sara Bard Field

Question: You are using a club, now, are you not?

Miss Todd: We have this great number of votes; why should not we use our votes for justice to women? What right has a party to come to us and say, "We want your votes, but we will not give justice to women in the East?"

Mr. Webb: Why did you not support members of Congress who favored suffrage, and campaign against those who opposed?

Miss Todd: I believe that we have more power when we hold the party as a whole responsible.

Miss Jolliffe was introduced.

She rose somewhat prepared. Charmingly gowned, hatted, veiled, she slipped her white gloved hands into her muff and stood before that committee looking as remote from politics as the stars; then she began her speech with the remark: "Gentlemen, in my campaigning against"—the committee sat up. How were they ever to learn to recognize danger? "Why did you campaign?" "Do you think you did any good?" "If you were a Democrat, why did you turn against the party?" "Do you know any better party than the Democratic Party?" "Do you really believe that the women who've got the vote care a little bit when the women who haven't got to get it?" "Why did you attack Raker, that good friend of suffrage?"

Miss Jolliffe occasionally opened her lips, but any sound she uttered was drowned. Then the muff went down on the table, and leaning over it on her white gloved hands, Miss Jolliffe said, "I demand to be allowed to speak without interruption."

"Mr. Chairman, let the lady speak," broke in a Republican.

She began again and spoke so rapidly, no pause between her words offered the enemy a chance.

"When your party had caucused against our amendment, Mr. Raker supported his party decision. When your party went into caucus about the tariff members of your party who came from sections of When your party went into caucus about the tariff, withdrew from the caucus out of loyalty to their district. You considered them no less Democrats that they withdrew. But there was not any Democrat to take an action of protest for us. Now, I understand that that is why the members of the Congressional Union did not think that Mr. Raker had served them well.

"I am here as a delegate. The first women voters' convention met in San Francisco last September. Delegates came from all the twelve free states, which represented four million women voters; and these delegates came from organizations of club women, of working women, of professional women, of women of leisure, and they represented all kinds and colors of political opinion. There in conference, after due deliberation, the Susan B. Anthony amendment was unanimously endorsed; and it was unanimously resolved that the women voters of America, gathered there in convention, should make women's enfranchisement the paramount issue of the day. That they would place women's enfranchisement above party or partisanship. They would stand shoulder to shoulder until all women were free. Now, gentlemen, there is a political significance there. For that is the first time in history when you see the solidarity of women. And now, you gentlemen want to know why I was there—a Democrat. There was a child labor convention out home a little while before, and they came to me to aid them, and I thought deeply about it. I deliberated and I thought, 'What can I do for these children?' And I said, 'I can use my vote for the Congressional Union.' For, gentlemen, where there is woman suffrage, there is no child labor.

"Do not blame me if I seem disloyal, because with some of your great principles I am in serious sympathy. Do not blame me if I put women above all. Gentlemen, this is a bigger question to me and to you than party. It is a question of conscience, of justice. There is only one way. We cannot do it through the states. We cannot touch these factory states. We can't touch Massachusetts or the South. The only way we can do it, gentlemen, is through the federal amendment. You know that this is why we are here. Your answer is what we are waiting for 'out West.'"

Miss Jolliffe apparently had induced some calm into the hearing, and it was possible to introduce Mrs. Field immediately after her suggestive "out West."

Mrs. Field moved to the table and stood small and defiant before the exalted committee platform. The sincerity of her desire to tell them what she had been sent on from San Francisco across the continent to tell them was so striking that her request that she be allowed to give her message and be questioned—she assured them she would be delighted to be questioned—afterward, was granted and the gentlemen settled back and permitted whole paragraphs to be finished without interruption, whereas through most of the afternoon

Miss Alice Paul

a sentence that came out all in one piece was a rare triumph.

Yet once that message appeared to be delivered, as if by preconceived arrangement, the members were upon her. Mrs. Field replied, she argued, she retorted; then with the desperation of an idealist in the face of the trivial, she stood with her hands on her lips, her coat tails gathered about her waist, and let them interrupt each others' questions. Her message she delivered as follows:

"I think possibly, with all due modesty, that I know more about this movement on the part of western women to stand behind this amendment irrespective of party.

"I agree that five hundred women delegates and a throng of ten thousand people were not necessarily representative of a sentiment in the West. I had serious doubts when I started out as an envoy to Congress and the President that I had a right to say it was. But, gentlemen, the thing I feel, and my particular contribution to the information of this body, is that those doubts have been removed in my own mind as I crossed the country. I ask you what could three small women, traveling in an automobile with a certain unsensational message—why would they have aroused in every single city that we have entered a demonstration unprecedented in suffrage annals? This new group of women realize that they have a chance to push this thing through—a chance to show that they can stand together.

"We feel that those women, while they are only individuals, are indicative of the spirit of the movement. There is a large nucleus of women standing for this thing. The Republican Women's Club of Chicago endorsed this movement, the Democratic Women's League put through the resolution to a woman that they would stand behind this movement. And the Political Equality League, which is wholly nonpartisan, gave us a hearing on the floor. All the women of that body, nearly a thousand in attendance, came up and signed the demand on Congress that the resolution be passed. When a great movement toward getting four million women back of an issue is begun, it is a national issue.

"I will say this in conclusion: I am sorry that you spoke of an anti-Democratic spirit. This is a question of policy. Study your American history and see how that policy has been pursued. If the Republican Party had been in power, we would have had to do the same thing to the Republicans. This movement of western women has nothing of antagonism in it. It is a movement of deep loyalty entailing much sacrifice."

Mr. Webb: Can you say that if the Democrats of this committee vote to support this proposition and the House votes on it, you will support the party as enthusiastically as you opposed it?

Mr. Volstead, of Minnesota: I should object to having you make a contract right here.

"In closing the argument before this committee," Miss Paul then said, "may I summarize our position? We have come here to ask one simple thing: that the Judiciary Committee refer this suffrage amendment, known as the Susan B. Anthony amendment, to the House of Representatives. We are simply asking you to do what you can do—that you let the House of Representatives decide this question. We have tried to bring people to this hearing from all over the United States to show the desire of women that this should be done.

"I want to emphasize just one point, in addition, that we are absolutely nonpartisan. We are made up of women who are strong Democrats, women who are strong Republicans, women who are Socialists, Progressives—every type of women. We are all united on this one thing—that we put suffrage before everything else. In every election, if we ever go into any future elections, we simply pledge ourselves to this—that we will consider the furtherance of suffrage and not our party affiliations in deciding what action we shall take."

Mr. Williams, of Illinois: Is it your policy to fight this question out only as a national issue? Do you make any attempt to secure relief through the states?

Miss Paul: The Congressional Union is organized to work for an amendment to the national constitution. We feel that the time has come, because of the winning of so many suffrage states in the West, to use the votes of women to get suffrage nationally. In the earlier days in this country, all the suffrage work was done in the states, but the winning of the western states has given us a power which we did not have before, so we have now turned from state work to national work. We are concentrating on the national government.

Mr. Gard: Miss Paul, is it true that you prefer to approach this through the state legislatures than to approach it directly through the people?

Miss Paul: We prefer the quickest way, which we believe is by Congressional action.

Mr. Taggart: Why did you oppose the Democrats in the last election?

Miss Paul: We came into existence when the administration of President Wilson first came in. We appealed to all members of Congress to have this amendment put through at once. We did get the measure out upon the floor of the House and Senate, but when it came to getting a vote in the House we found we were absolutely blocked. We went again and again, week after week, and month after month to the Democratic members of the Rules Committee, who controlled the apportioning of the time of the House, and asked them to give us five or ten minutes for the discussion of suffrage. Every time they refused. They told us that they were powerless to act because the Democrats had met in caucus and decided that suffrage was a matter to be decided in the states and should not be brought up in Congress. I have here a letter from Mr. Henry, chairman of the Rules Committee, in which he says: "It would give me great pleasure to report the resolution to the House, except for the fact that the Democratic caucus, by its direct action, has tied my hands and placed me in a position where I will not be authorized to do so unless the caucus is reconvened and changes its decision. I am sure your good judgment will cause you to thoroughly understand my attitude."

After we had been met for months with the statement that the Democratic party had decided in caucus not to let suffrage come up in Congress, we said, "We will go out to the women voters in the west and tell them how we are blocked in Washington, and ask them if they will use their vote for the very highest purpose for which they can use it—to help get votes for other women."

We campaigned against every one of the forty-three men who were running for Congress on the Democratic ticket in any of the suffrage states; and only nineteen of those we campaigned against came back to Washington. In December, at the close of the election, we went back to the Rules Committee. They told us then that they had no greater desire in the world than to bring the suffrage amendment out. They told us that we had misunderstood them in thinking they were opposed to having suffrage come up in Congress. They voted at once to bring suffrage upon the floor for the first time in history. The whole opposition of the Democratic party melted away and the decision of the party caucus was reversed.

The part we played in the last election was simply to tell the women voters of the West of the way the Democratic party had blocked us at Washington and of the way the individual members of the party, from the West, had supported their party in blocking us. As soon as we told this record they ceased blocking us and we trust will never block us again.

Question: But what about next time?

Miss Paul: We hope we will never have to go into another election. We are appealing to all parties and to all men to put this amendment through this Congress and send it on to the State Legislatures. What we are doing is giving the Democrats their opportunity. We did pursue a certain policy which we have outlined to you as you requested. As to what we may do we cannot say. It depends upon the future situation.

Question: But we want to know what you will do in the 1916 election.

Miss Paul: Can you possibly tell us what will be in the platform of the Democratic Party in 1916?

Mr. Webb: I can tell one plank that will not be there, and that is a plank in favor of woman suffrage.

Question: If conditions are the same, do you not propose to fight Democrats just the same as you did a year ago?

Miss Paul: We have come to ask your help in this Congress. But in asking it we have ventured to remind you that in the next election one-fifth of the vote for President comes from suffrage states. What we shall do in that election depends upon what you do.

Mr. Webb: We would know better what to do if we knew what you were going to do.

Mr. Gard: We should not approach this hearing in any partisan sense. What I would like is to be informed about some facts. I asked Mrs. Field what reason your organization had for asking Congress to submit this question to states that have already acted upon it. Why should there be a resubmission to the voters by national action in states which have either voted for or against it, when the machinery exists in these same states to vote for it again?

Miss Paul: They have never voted on the question of a national amendment.

Mr. Gard: The states can only ratify it. You would prefer that course to having it taken directly to the people?

Miss Paul: Simply because we have the power of women's votes to back up this method.

Mr. Gard: You are using this method because you think you have power to enforce it?

Miss Paul: Because we know we have power.

Mr. Taggart: The women who have the vote in the West are not worrying about what women are doing in the East. You will have to get more states before you try this nationally.

Miss Paul: We think that this repeated advice to go back to the states proves beyond all cavil that we are on the right track.

Mr. Taggart: Suppose you get fewer votes this time? Do you think it is fair to those members of Congress who voted for woman suffrage and have stood for woman suffrage, to oppose them merely because a majority of their party were not in favor of woman suffrage?

Miss Paul: Every man that we opposed stood by his party caucus in its opposition to suffrage.

Mr. Volstead: This inquiry is absolutely unfair and improper. It is cheap politics, and I have gotten awfully tired of listening to it.

Mr. Taggart: Have your services been bespoken by the Republican committee of Kansas for the next campaign?

Miss Paul: We are greatly gratified by this tribute to our value.

Mr. Moss: State just whether or not it is a fact that the question is, What is right? and not, What will be the reward or punishment of the members of this committee? Is not that the only question that is pending before this committee?

Miss Paul: Yes, as we have said over and over today. We have come simply to ask that this committee report this measure to the House, that the House may consider the question.

Mr. Moss: Can you explain to the committee what the question of what you are going to do to a member of this committee or a Congressman in regard to his vote has to do with the question of what we should do as our duty?

Miss Paul: As I have said, we don't see any reason for discussing that.

Mr. Webb: You have no blacklist, have you, Miss Paul?

Miss Paul: No.

Mr. Taggart: You are organized, are you not, for the chastisement of political parties that do not do your bidding at once?

Miss Paul: We are organized to win votes for women and our method of doing this is to organize the women who have the vote to help other women to get it.

The meeting then adjourned.

Pennsylvania Organizes

LARGE groups of Philadelphia women called on Congressmen Vare and Graham recently to solicit their support in the fight for a national constitutional amendment enfranchising women.

Following the deputations, officers of the Congressional Union for Pennsylvania were elected and a state constitution adopted.

A brilliant reception was given Mrs. Sara Bard Field, then traveling through Philadelphia on her way to Washington, bearing the message of the women voters to Congress.

MR. GEORGE S. GRAHAM, who represents the second district of Pennsylvania, received the deputation of suffragists at his office in Philadelphia on November 23.

Mrs. Harry Lowenburg, chairman of the deputation, which included about fifty women, addressed the Congressman, stating briefly the purpose of their call.

In reply, Congressman Graham said that he was not yet convinced of the merits of woman suffrage.

"I voted for the report of the constitutional amendment from the Judiciary Committee," said Mr. Graham. "I did so on the theory of fair play. I did not want it smothered in committee. It does not mean that I am in favor of suffrage. There are many questions on the other side. Principally there is the question of the home."

The deputation left expressing the hope that Congressman Graham would vote in favor of referring the federal suffrage amendment to the state legislatures, also on the theory of "fair play," not wanting it to be "smothered" in Congress.

CONGRESSMAN VARE received a delegation of suffragists, on the same day, most cordially. "I never make my position on a legislative matter known in advance," he said, "but I will be delighted to consider what you have said."

Mr. Vare seemed much impressed, the *Evening Ledger* said, when he was told that woman suffrage in Pennsylvania had polled 42.2 per cent of the vote in the recent election.

Among those who participated in the deputations to Congressman Vare and Graham were Miss Mary Burnham, Miss M. Elder, Mrs. William Albert Wood, Mrs. George Morgan, the Misses Katzenstein, Mrs. John C. Hirst, Mrs. H. Doyle, Mrs. John Shepard, Mrs. S. Roulon, Mrs. Victor Goetz, Mrs. Henry Dixey, and others.

AT THE business meeting following the deputations, Mrs. Harry Lowenburg was elected chairman of the Congressional Union in Pennsylvania; Mrs. M. Theodora Burt, Miss Fannie Travis Cochran, Miss Harriet W. Dulles, Miss Cornelia Greenough, Mrs. M. K. Kelly, Mrs. Charles Z. Klauder, and Mrs. Alice Gibson Brock, vice-chairmen; Mrs. L. M. B. Mitchell, corresponding secretary; Miss Ellen Lane Leaf, recording secretary; Miss Sarah Graham Tompkins, treasurer.

Mrs. Lowenburg opened the afternoon session with a brief address. "When the Susan B. Anthony amendment was submitted in the last Congress," Mrs. Lowenburg said, "twenty Pennsylvania representatives voted in its favor; nine voted against, and seven were absent. Since that vote was taken more than three hundred thousand men in the Keystone State have expressed their belief in the extension of democracy for which we are working; and their action must indicate to our national representatives the remarkable advance that our cause is making.

"There is, however, another foundation for a cheerful outlook on the future. Four million women in the west are already voters, and a presidential election is looming before us. Surely no candidate for the highest office in our land can ignore the demand we are making."

Mrs. Edwin C. Grice, Miss Doris Stevens, and Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Jr., discussed the methods and aims of the Congressional Union.

The business meeting followed a luncheon in the palm room of the Hotel Walton, at which members and friends of the Congressional Union were present.

THE first duty of the newly elected officers of the Pennsylvania Branch of the Congressional Union was to welcome the envoys of the women voters who arrived in Philadelphia on December 3. They were received by Mayor Blankenburg, who signed their petition to Congress. A reception was tendered the envoys at the Ritz-Carlton in the afternoon. Mrs. Edwin C. Grice, president of the Home and School League, presided. Among the speakers were Mrs. Lucretia Blankenburg, wife of the mayor; Isaac Clothier, Sr., Thomas Harbison and M. B. Griffith, representing the Chamber of Commerce; Mrs. Field, and Miss Mabel Vernon.

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DECEMBER 12 THROUGH DECEMBER 18

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Open 9.00 a. m. Close 6.00 p. m.

Wholesome and Freshly Made Daily
Kann's Kapital Kandy
Is the Only Christmas Candy to Buy
Have you ordered your share yet? The candy is made of the best ingredients, right in our own bright sunny candy-shop, and represents a full 60c value, in about 40 different varieties.
The most delicious you ever tasted.
AT **40c** LB.

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